

HEBREW *HESED* AND GREEK *CHARIS*

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THE Greek and other early renderings of Hebrew *hèsed* and its adjective *hāsîd* only complicate the exegesis the more because of the contradictory renderings given, e.g. in Greek ἔλεος, ὁσιος, ὁσιότης, in Latin 'misericordia,' 'sanctus.' With fine sense the translators of the English Bible invented a new word for the noun, 'lovingkindness.' Similarly the Christian word χάρις = Latin 'gratia,' coming down from the New Testament, has had its many-faceted history. The modern use of the word is complicated by the concurrence of Classical and Biblical tradition. The Christian asks for God's grace, and yet renders Him grace at meals, and indifferently speaks of the grace of physical form and bearing, while 'gratitude' and 'graciousness' have their particular denotations.

The writer has long held that the problematic χάρις of the New Testament renders the idea of Hebrew *hesed*, and this without Septuagintal or other literary background. He may have obtained this notion of yore from H. Cremer's Wörterbuch zur neutestamentl. Gräcität at the close of his discussion of χάρις. And for the Hebrew word he would identify it practically with Latin 'pietas,' another many-sided word, as the dictionaries make manifest.¹ Such is the translation given by Buxtorf long ago in his Lexicon Chaldaicum (1642) to the correspondent Jewish-Aramaic *hāsîdūthā*. And similar is the occasional translation of the Hebrew noun and adjective in the Oxford Hebrew Dictionary as 'piety,' 'pious.' Also W. Robertson Smith in his

¹ See the admirable discussion of the Hebrew word by N. Glueck, Das Wort *hesed*, Beihefte z. Zeitschrift f. d. alttest. Wissenschaft, 47 (1927), 68 pages. His definition of the word in summary German, impossible to render into English, is 'die einem Rechts-Pflicht-Verhältniss entsprechende Verhaltungsweise.' He gives practically a concordance of all the many uses of the word, carefully analyzed in categories.

Prophets of Israel (1882), 160, cf. n. 9, finds the word as 'corresponding to Latin *pietas*, or dutiful love,' which last phrase is an admirable English translation. James Moffatt in his *Grace in the New Testament* (1932) discusses in Part A, II, 'Grace in the Old Testament,' but only on pp. 37, 38 does he refer to *hesed*, the bulk of his interest lying in the Hebrew *hēn*, a word of different flavor, more emotional and spasmodic, without attachment to social responsibilities. 'Favor' or 'graciousness' might translate this word.² But the interpretation of 'piety' covers only the cases of application of the word to human beings, and where the Greek normally uses *δσιότης*. However, the Hebrew noun and adjective are used equally of Deity, where 'piety' in the modern narrow sense of the word, especially in English, is impossible.³ Hence in this connection the Greek and the Latin use words meaning 'mercy,' and, as has been noted, the English invented a new word. Now the Hebrew word, like original '*pietas*,' means the moral relation lying between two parties that is entailed in, but lies beyond, the concrete legal requirements, as in the relations between parent and child (e.g. 'pius Aeneas,' or the Father and the Prodigal Son in the parable), man and wife, host and guest or client. Hence the beautiful Hebrew name for the stork is *hāsīdāh*, i.e. 'pia mater,' for her tender care of her young, building the great nest in the trees for their home, for by nature (to use a theological phrase) she needs only to lay her eggs; for this 'piety' she is contrasted with the ostrich at Job 39: 13 ff. In the most important of all human social relations, that between the spouses in marriage, we find all through the history of law the interrelation of 'piety' and 'rights.' Hosea 2: 2, with the LORD's recall of His abandoned, profligate wife Israel

² Moffatt gives, pp. xii, xiii, a recent bibliography of some nine treatises on 'Grace' since 1913, and Professor A. D. Nock notes for me a more recent work by J. C. Bolkenstein, *Ὅσιος εν εὐσεβείᾳ* (Amsterdam, 1936). With this wider literature the writer is not acquainted, but he would be interested to learn what it might contribute to the Semitic background. For the relation of the two Hebrew words cited should be noted the discussion by W. F. Lofthouse, 'Hen and Hesed in the Old Testament,' *Zeits. f. d. alttest. Wiss.*, 10 (1933), 29 ff., a useful sequence to Glueck's essay.

³ As Moffatt notes, this word came to be thinned out into ultimate French 'piété,' English 'pity.'

is not out of place in the line of history: "I will betroth thee unto Me for ever. Yea, I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness and in justice (purely legal terms), and in *hesed* and in compassion . . . and in faithfulness." With which is to be compared the contrast of the moral vows taken in the service of Matrimony with the few external specifications of law, confined to the physical and economic fields. There is to be observed the modern development of the law of marriage which is ever increasingly bringing that spiritual element of *hesed* into its domain. The frequent claim in suit for divorce of 'mental cruelty' is expression of the denial of that quality. In another line of family relationship the Federal Bureau of Internal Revenue has recently defined 'the head of a family' as one whose duty to his dependents is 'based upon some moral or legal requirements.' This 'moral obligation,' *hesed*, is a somewhat nebulous atmosphere, which comes to be precipitated in law, a process that is continuously proceeding.⁴

Our word represents the extra-legalistic 'grace' such as the Canaanite Abimelek expected in return for his own 'grace' done to Abraham (Genesis 21:23); here the English Bible translates with the quite appropriate 'kindness,' following the Targum, as *vs.* 'misericordia' of the Vulgate, *δικαιοσύνη* (!) of the Greek. Hence we can understand the constant pairing of the 'righteousness' (in Hebrew always legal 'right' — German 'das Recht') and the 'piety' of the God of Israel towards the people of his 'covenant,' which word itself is legalistic, i.e. 'contract.' He is 'the doer of piety and judgment and righteousness' (Jeremiah 9:23), 'observer of the covenant and piety' (Deuteronomy 7:9); cf. Psalm 36:11, and for the pairing of the adjectives, 'righteous and pious,' see Psalm 145:7. The usual translation 'merciful' here and at Psalm 3:12 is entirely out of place.

But the Aramaic renderings, which appear to have been generally ignored, are more 'to the manner born.' The Targum translates with *ṭūbā* or *ṭēbūthā*, the Syriac with kindred *ṭaibūtha*,

⁴ For the problem of the relation of *šēdek* and *hesed*, the legal and moral obligations, throughout history reference may be made to Roscoe Pound's treatise, *Law and Morals* (ed. 2, 1926), e.g. pp. 103 ff. (citing a definition of law as 'a minimum of ethics').

these with the radical meaning of 'goodness.' With the same word the Syriac translates *χάρις* in the New Testament, e.g. at John 1: 14, 16, 17, Romans 1: 5, 7; 3: 24. One technical use of this word throws interesting light on it and its equivalents; in the Syriac law-books occurs the term *bērā dē-ṭaibūthā*, 'adopted son,' with which term Paul's 'adoption of sons' (Galatians 4: 5) comes to mind.⁵ And it is in cognate sense that the New Testament uses *χάρις* — 'that which by nature we do not have.' But there is another dialectical quarter of the Aramaic where the word *ḥesed* in the Hebrew sense and = *χάρις* survived.⁶ This is the so-called Christian Syro-Palestinian dialect, the dialect in particular of the colony of Christians who fled across Jordan at Vespasian's invasion (Eusebius, H. E., iii: 5), with later an emigration into Egypt, where their literary remains have been found. This legacy consists of extensive lectionaries and other ecclesiastical material.⁷ In these scanty remains Syriac *ḥasdā* appears to be generally used in translating New Testament *χάρις*, viz. at Luke 1: 30; 2: 40, John 1: 14, 16 (the last case reproducing the Hebrew of Exodus 34: 6), Romans 12: 3, Galatians 6: 18, Philippians 4: 23, Col. 4: 18 (the last three cases expressing 'the grace be with you'), Hebrews 4: 16. Of particular interest is the translation of the angel's address to the Virgin Mary at Luke 1: 28, *κεχαριτωμένη* = *ḥāsīdā*, and indeed this translation has survived here in the late Philoxenian revision of the Syriac New Testament.⁸

⁵ For the Syriac term see C. Brockelmann, *Lex. syr.*² (1928), 270.

⁶ There are, semantically speaking, two roots in the Semitic, both of which appear in Hebrew and Aramaic dialects, the one that of our word, the other with the meaning of 'shame.' See the Hebrew lexica, and for the interesting problem of 'homonymous roots,' or of roots semantically polarizing (e.g. the root 'by' = 'to be willing' in Hebrew, 'to be unwilling' in the South Semitic languages), reference may be made to Glueck, pp. 67 f., with excellent bibliography. It may be that by reason of this ambiguity the tradition of the Syriac Bible avoided the transliterated term (with one exception to be noted below) because of its ambiguity.

⁷ For the dialect see C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. sem. Sprachen* 1 (1908), § 16, and the excellent *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* by F. Schulthess (1903); for the literature, R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque* (1899), ch. 4, and a brief account in William Wright, *Short History of Syriac Literature* (1894), 17 f.

⁸ See Brockelmann, p. 25. There is an interesting modern corroboration of the equivalence of *ḥesed* and *χάρις*. In the Hebrew translation of the New Testament into Hebrew, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and published at Vienna,

A word may be said on the use in the New Testament of ὁσιος, ὁσιότης. The noun is paired with δικαιοσύνη at Luke 1: 75 and Ephesians 4: 24, with which cf. Wisdom of Solomon 9: 3, "He created the world ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ." The word is currently translated in these passages with 'holiness,' but this certainly is not pertinent in the last passage. In them all the background of *hesed* is to be borne in mind. Again at 1 Timothy 1: 18 there are listed the virtues of the bishop; he should be . . . δίκαιον, ὅσιον, ἐγκρατῇ . . . Again the translations give 'holy,' an adjective entirely out of place in a catalogue of social virtues; it might be translated here with 'kindly' — but for so customary a word of the Greek too sharp a definition may not be required. At Hebrews 7: 26 the titulation of Christ as ἀρχιερεὺς ὁσιος (not ἅγιος!) is doubtless a reminiscence of the promise to Levi (whose place as high priest the Christ usurps) at Deuteronomy 33: 8, where, with translation of the root *hsd*, the Greek has ἀρχιερεὺς ὁσιος. In these two cases we have Septuagintal language.

For expression of *hesed* in English 'kindness' might be the best representative, as signifying the moral obligation along with or even beyond the law. We might bear in mind Shakespeare's correct etymologizing in this connection, 'a little more than kin, and less than kind.'

What bearing the above rather philological treatise may have on the understanding of grace in the New Testament must be left to qualified students. But the warning may be given that the word is not to be understood primarily from the Greek but from its lively Semitic background; Greek χάρις was a happy find for translation, but it was not the whole of *hesed*. Every word has its own personality; a translation is but a mask.⁹

hesed appears to be largely used to render χάρις, e.g. at Rom. 4: 16; 5: 15; 6: 1. The editor of this translation was, if I remember aright, the distinguished Professor Franz Delitzsch. For his sensibility towards Hebrew the following anecdote recurs to me. His distinguished son Friedrich, the Assyriologist, was once criticized as knowing perhaps his Assyrian, but not his Hebrew. His retort was that at his father's table the family was accustomed to speak Hebrew.

⁹ A postscript may be ventured on the pregnancy of Hebrew roots and vocables, making them difficult of rendering into languages of another stock. As an example the angelic song at Luke 1: 14 may be cited — a commonplace at the Christmas festival:



Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας (with WH). 'Glory' in this connection is a Semitism, is an inscription of majesty, we might say. The 'glory' is given by the worshipper, as that verb is used at Psalm 29: 1. *Anglice* 'honor' might best translate it. The plural, 'in excelsis,' repeats the Hebrew plural 'in the heights' (e.g. Psalm 148: 1); there is the sense of the storeys of heaven, which inspired the apocalyptists and Dante; heaven is not a flat plain. There is a new mathematics in the area of the heavenly Jerusalem according to Revelation 21: 16: "its length and breadth and height are equal." The word 'peace' is generally treated in a very mundane way, in much the same spirit as that of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue. But it is the divine salutation to men on Christmas morn, the *šālôm* of old Hebrew, the *salâm* of customary Arabic to this day (see the writer's note on 'the return of the peace,' in JBL, 1937, p. 51). Finally the Semitic verse balance demands the text as given above, despite the witnesses against it (with *εὐδοκία* as nominative), and the genitive is objective, as common in Semitic — 'men of (divine) favor.' The parallelism relates the recipients to God — 'in earth as in heaven.'

ALDHELM'S DIOCESE OF SHERBORNE

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ON THE death of Hædde, bishop of the West-Saxons (676-705) with his see at Winchester (Ha), the West-Saxon diocese as then constituted was subdivided; ¹ in Freeman's words this was "the great ecclesiastical event of the reign of Ine," ² king of Wessex from 688 to 726. The simplest, earliest and really most authoritative statement of the matter in general is that of Bede:

Quo [Haeddi] defuncto, episcopatus prouinciae illius [Occidentalium Saxonum] in duas parrochias divisus est. Una data Daniheli, . . . altera Aldhelmo.³

* To Max Förster on his 70th birthday, March 8, 1939.

¹ Before Hædde's day Dorchester (in Oxfordshire *not* Dorset) had been the see of the West-Saxon diocese.

For statements general and particular concerning the subdivision of the West-Saxon diocese in 705 see the following works: S. H. Cassan, *Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury from the Year 705 to 1824* (Salisbury, 1824), pp. 16-27; A. W. Haddan and Wm. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland III* (Oxford, 1871), 276, first note; Wm. Henry Rich Jones, *Early Annals of the Episcopate in Wilts and Dorset* (London, 1871), pp. 19-20; Edw. A. Freeman, "King Ine," *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings XX* (Taunton, 1874), Pt. ii, pp. 16-23 and notes on p. 51; Wm. Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History* (1st ed., London, 1878), pp. 423-8; Wm. H. R. Jones, *Salisbury* (London, 1880), pp. 35 ff.; Charles Plummer ed., *Venerabilis Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica* (Oxford, 1896), II, 307; Wm. Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest (597-1066)* (London, 1899), pp. 169-71; Geoffrey Hill, *English Dioceses: a History of their Limits from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1900), pp. 143-51; G. F. Browne, *St. Aldhelm: his Life and Times* (London, 1903), pp. 138-48; J. C. Cox, art. "Ecclesiastical History" in the *Victoria History of the County of Hampshire II* (London, 1903), 2; Miss M. M. C. Calthrop, art. "Ecclesiastical History" in the *Victoria History of the County of Dorset II* (London, 1908), 1-2; T. Scott Holmes, art. "Ecclesiastical History" in the *Victoria History of the County of Somerset II* (London, 1911), 5-6; Charles Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (5th ed., London, 1923), p. 328; R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1935), I, 319, 322.

The views of the above-mentioned writers at times differ radically from one another in matters concerning the diocesan boundaries in question. Some have been listed because they have been cited by prominent historians, some for having written very generally read handbooks.

² Cited above, p. 17.

³ *Historia Ecclesiastica* v, 18, ed. Plummer, I, 320; Loeb Library Series, ed. J. E. King, II, 294.

There is, I believe, no question concerning the general nature of this event; it is obvious that the old diocese had come to be viewed as too large and unwieldy for a single bishop to direct properly. As Faritius, Italian monk of the monastery of Malmesbury (d. 1117) puts it: "*parochia, prae circuitus sui magnitudine, quia ab uno gubernari non poterat.*"⁴ Under the new arrangement the two sees were: Winchester (Ha) for, generally speaking, the new eastern diocese; Sherborne (Do) for, generally speaking, the new western. To Daniel fell Winchester (705-744), to Aldhelm, Sherborne (705-709). The boundaries between these new episcopates are, however, uncertain and have been the subject of no little controversy. Not all early writers on this matter attempt to define these boundaries, but enough do so and in sufficiently varied terms to make the way thoroughly difficult for the student.

Bede (quoted above) heads chronologically a group of four that more or less ignores the issue of boundaries. All texts of the Old-English Chronicle but one (the B-text cited, p. 105, below) say of Aldhelm that "*se was bewestan wuda biscop,*"⁵ that is, "he was bishop to the west of the forest," but this taken by itself tells us precisely nothing. Florence of Worcester (d. 1118) also contributes nothing here: "*Sanctus Aldelmus, West-Saxonica provinciae antistes . . . migravit ad Dominum,*"⁶ while Henry of Huntingdon (d. ca. 1155) is as vague as or even vaguer than the Chronicle: "*partem orientalem a silvis tenuit Daniel, occidentalem Aldelmus,*"⁷ i.e. Aldhelm administered the "district west of the forests."

⁴ J.-P. Migne ed., *Patrologia latina* LXXXIX (Paris, 1850), col. 73 (bottom); also in Haddan and Stubbs, cited note 1 above, p. 275 (bottom).

⁵ This quotation is from the Parker Chronicle and the other versions are essentially the same. See Charles Plummer ed., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel I* (Oxford, 1892), 40; Benjamin Thorpe ed., *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle I* (London, 1861), 68-9. The corresponding passage in the Latin annals in Brit. Mus. Ms. Cotton Domitian A. VIII, fol. 45 v, runs to the same effect: "*ipse fuit episcopus in parte occidentis silve*" (also quoted in Plummer, loc. cit., n. 4).

⁶ *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (London: English Historical Society, 1848), p. 47 (A.D. 709); on p. 46 Florence uses part of Bede's statement à propos of the division of the diocese.

⁷ *Historia Anglorum*, Bk. iv, § 8, ed. Thomas Arnold, Rolls Series No. 74 (London, 1879), p. 110. Bright (op. cit., p. 423, n. 6) renders *silvis* by "wood" (sing.) and equates this with the Selwood Forest.

If an identification of the *wudu* (*silva*) of the OE Chronicle or of Henry of Huntingdon's *silvae* is possible, this will depend altogether on the interpretation of a group of three texts which suggest, though varyingly, the boundary in question in terms of geographically defined regions. These are: (1) the B-text of the Old-English Chronicle (Brit. Mus. Ms. Cotton Tiberius A. VI, hereafter referred to as B), (2) Alderman Ethelwerd's almost contemporary *Chronica*, and (3) a detailed statement by William of Malmesbury (d. ca. 1173) in his *de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*. What these documents tell us is as follows:

(1) Where all other texts of the Old-English Chronicles, as noted p. 104 above, say that Aldhelm was bishop *bewestan wuda*, the B-text (Ms. ca. A.D. 1000)⁸ is unique with its almost too well-known reading *bewestan Selewuda* "west of the Selwood Forest."⁹ Forest-areas of the past are notoriously difficult to define and the Selwood Forest is no exception; in pre-Conquest England, however, it probably covered a considerable part of eastern Somerset, perhaps from Frome to Wincanton.¹⁰ If this formed or suggested the eastern boundary of Aldhelm's diocese, B must have thought of the diocese as more or less limited on the east to Somerset and a part of Dorset (roughly speaking on a line from Stalbridge to Dorchester), including Sherborne, known to have been the episcopal see. No western boundary is set but this would presumably extend to the western limits of the authority of the West-Saxon kingdom or, in expectation of future successes, perhaps even further.

(2) Contemporary with B or slightly earlier is the *Chronica* of Alderman Ethelwerd, which for the period before 892 is largely dependent on some text of the Old-English Chronicle.¹¹ With reference to Aldhelm's bishopric Ethelwerd writes: "*erat-*

⁸ Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles II* (Oxford, 1899), xxix and n. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 40, n. 4; Thorpe, ed. cit., I, 68, col. 2.

¹⁰ So H. B. Woodward, art. "Geology" in the *Victoria History of the County of Somerset I* (London, 1906), 32-3; Woodward's statement agrees essentially with the indications on the map facing the title-page of Jones's *Salisbury* (cited above) and the map facing p. 12 of Wm. H. P. Greswell, *The Forests & Deer Parks of the County of Somerset* (Taunton, 1905). The name survives today in the little town of Selwood (So) near Frome; see further Magoun, "Territorial, Place-, and River-Names . . .," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature XVIII* (1935), 94 under "*Sealwudu*."

¹¹ See Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles II*, ci-cii (§ 99).

que eius episcopatus provincia quæ vulgo Sealudscire dicitur."¹² Ethelwerd's *Sealudscire* seems to be a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. The first part of the name (*Sealud-*) is undoubtedly the same as B's *Selewudu* above, that is the "Selwood Forest." The second part is OE *scīr*, fem., of uncertain origin¹³ but evidently with a basic meaning in Old English of "official charge or duty," Germ. *Amt*. The range of specialized application which *scīr* developed in Old English is considerable¹⁴ and includes quite commonly "diocese."¹⁵ This last is the meaning in Ethelwerd's compound, to be translated "the Selwood Forest diocese," not "Selwoodshire" or the like with a connotation of a political or tribal division of some sort. Ethelwerd tells us then, if he tells us anything, that Aldhelm's bishopric was "popularly" (*vulgo*) called the "Selwood Forest diocese," that is, that his diocese was, in some part of the country familiar to Ethelwerd, popularly thought of as centering on the Selwood Forest; perhaps his episcopal activity was thought of as concentrated in the region about the forest — north, south, east or west. Were we altogether dependent on Ethelwerd for our knowledge of this matter, we should have no reason to think of Aldhelm's bishopric as restricted in any direction with reference to the Selwood Forest. Ethelwerd's statement is not precise and was very likely not intended to be so; it comes into no serious conflict with the following.

(3) William of Malmesbury is the latest of the three medieval writers to furnish specific information about the limits of Aldhelm's diocese. He is by all odds the most detailed and one must almost inevitably be for him or against him. The pertinent passage in his *de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (completed in 1125) runs thus:

¹² *Chronica*, Bk. ii, ch. 11, ed. Henry Petri, *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (London, 1848), p. 507. In a footnote Petri remarks: "episcopatus scilicet Scireburenensis."

¹³ Ferd. Holthausen, *Altengl. etymolog. Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1934), s. v.; cf. also the *New English Dictionary* under "shire."

¹⁴ For a survey of meanings see John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (3d ed., Cambridge, 1931), s. v.

¹⁵ Joseph Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898), p. 836, col. 2, under *scīr* f., IV.

In divisione Westsaxonici episcopatus hoc observatum palam est, ut, qui Wintoniae sederet, haberet duos pagos Amptunensem et Sudreiensem; alter, qui Scirenurniae, haberet Wiltunensem, Dorsatensem, Berruchensem, Sumer-setensem, Domnoniensem, Cornubiensem.¹⁶

In English translation:

In the partition of the West-Saxon episcopate this is clearly observable (namely) that whoever had the see of Winchester (Ha), had the two counties Hampshire and Surrey; and the other, who (had the see) of Sherborne (Do), had (the counties of) Wiltshire, Dorset, Berkshire, Somerset, Devon (and) Cornwall.

These three accounts (the B-text of the Old-English Chronicle, Ethelwerd and William of Malmesbury) constitute all that we know or are ever likely to know about the extent of Daniel's and Aldhelm's bishoprics, and where these accounts conflict with one another, a verdict must, if ventured, be sought on the strength of such authority as one is ready to attribute to the text of one's choice. The four texts discussed briefly, pp. 104-105 above, lack precise indications and, if considered at all, must be used as indirect evidence and with much caution.

William of Malmesbury, because of his preciseness, has naturally been the centre of the controversy on the local geography. He is highly circumstantial and, if he is right, tells us practically everything we may reasonably wish to know. His statement of the case has in essentials been accepted by Haddan and Stubbs (loc. cit.), Bright (pp. 423-4), Plummer (Bede II, 307),¹⁷ Browne (p. 139) and Cox (loc. cit.), all showing a general disposition to rule out Devon, and to the far west Cornwall, as lying in 705 outside the sphere of West-Saxon influence. Cornwall was no doubt at this time still completely Celtic but, though the chronology of the West-Saxon conquest of Devon is uncertain in many details, it is not unlikely that that county recognized the authority of King Ine at least as far as the rivers Exe and Creedy.¹⁸ Yet apart from the political situation as it

¹⁶ Op. cit., Bk. ii, § 79, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series No. 52 (London, 1870), p. 175; this passage is also quoted in Plummer's Bede, II, 307.

¹⁷ Yet in Two of the Saxon Chronicles II (Oxford, 1899), 460, col. 2, *Wudu* of 709 is interpreted "the Wood," used absolutely for Selwood [Forest], thus virtually contradicting William. Did Plummer change his mind about William's definition which in the same volume (II, 36) he inferentially accepts by reference to his Bede note in his note under *ann. 709*?

¹⁸ See Hodgkin, op. cit., I, 315-6 and facing map.

actually was in this regard, it is quite conceivable that the west clear to Land's End was assigned to Aldhelm on paper at least.¹⁹

If modern writers who trust William of Malmesbury tend to discount or disregard the statement of the B-text of the Old-English Chronicle that Aldhelm's bishopric lay to the west of the Selwood Forest (and by implication not to the east) and ignore or attach no importance to Ethelwerd's *Sealuudscire*, not so William's opponents. Jones (Early Annals, loc. cit. and Salisbury, p. 37) identifies the unmodified *wuda* of all other versions of the Old-English Chronicle with B's *Selewuda*,²⁰ accepts B's Selwood Forest as the border-line between the dioceses in question, seeks confirmation in Ethelwerd's "Selwood-shire," and then extends the forest over "no inconsiderable portion of the western division of Wiltshire." Berkshire and what he emphasizes as the *eastern* parts of Wiltshire Jones assigns to the see of Winchester. Freeman (art. cit., pp. 19-21) accepts Jones's interpretation, especially since he objects to William of Malmesbury's assignment of Cornwall to Aldhelm's diocese, describes William's list of counties as "not to be trusted" and finally refers in a rather confused and confusing fashion to B's *Selewudu* as a "very remarkable entry in the Chronicles." All this is more or less repeated by Hunt (op. cit., pp. 170-1, and n. 1).²¹ Hill (pp. 143 ff.) does not take much notice of earlier discussion, leans heavily on the historian J. R. Green, on B, on Ethelwerd and, of all people here, on Henry of Huntingdon. Hill thinks that William's "mistake" (p. 150) is

¹⁹ Miss Calthrop (loc. cit.) is ready to include Devon and Cornwall, and one must not forget Aldhelm's apparently successful letter on the Easter question addressed to Gerontius, Celtic king of Dumnonia, in the year 705 (see Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, London, 1932, pp. 200-1). One can think of far more pretentious grants of authority to missionary bishops in the colonial period of the New World, not to mention bishops sent to the Rhineland in the 8th century.

²⁰ As do Thorpe, op. cit., II, 38 *sub anno* 709; Plummer, loc. cit. *supra*, and E. Classen and F. E. Harmer, *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from British Museum, Cotton Ms., Tiberius B. IV* (Manchester, 1926), p. 140, col. 1 under *wudu*. M. Hoffmann-Hirtz, *Une chronique anglo-saxonne . . .* (Strasburg, 1933), p. 51 and n. 2, is more reserved, rendering the passage: "évêque dans l'ouest de (Sel)wood," with a note to the effect that the parenthetical "Sel" is from B.

²¹ Similarly in his article on Aldhelm in the *Dictionary of National Biography* I (1900), 246.

due to that historian's confusing diocesan arrangements in his own day (*post* 1100) with those of A.D. 705.²² Miss Calthrop, Holmes and Hodgkin²³ accept B uncritically and declare the Selwood Forest to be the dividing line.

Now plainly the real stumbling block in the whole matter is the reading *bewestan Selewuda* of the B-text versus *bewestan wuda* of the A-, C-, D-, E- and F-texts of the Old-English Chronicle and *in parte occidentis silve* of the Latin annals associated with F. If B alone has preserved the "original" Chronicle reading, then B should here enjoy great authority, but this is not inherently likely. B (in common with the closely related C)²⁴ exhibits many peculiarities²⁵ and corruptions²⁶ and thus lacks in general that very reliability that is desired if one is to attach particular importance to its reading *Selewuda*. Without approaching the problem directly W. H. Stevenson many years ago sensed the present difficulty and showed an obvious inclination to rule out B as an authority here.²⁷ *Bewestan wuda* of 709 — which he mistranslates "West Wood"²⁸ — Stevenson thinks was the older name of the belt of woodland forming the eastern boundary of the diocese and that, at a later time, Selwood was substituted for it.²⁹

²² Hill (p. 148, n. 2) makes over-assured statements concerning the West-Saxon conquest of the southwestern counties.

²³ See map "The Conversion of the English" at the end of Hodgkin, Vol. I, for an area designated "West of Selwood."

²⁴ For present purposes it is relatively unimportant whether Howorth is right or wrong in his quite special thesis that B and C may offer a better or more authentic picture of what might be called the Alfredian Chronicle than does A (the Parker Chronicle); see *The English Historical Review* XV (1900), 748 ff.

²⁵ Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles* II, lxxxvii and n. 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. lxxxviii, n. 1 (mistakes), n. 2 (omissions), n. 3 (insertions).

²⁷ Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904), pp. 197-8. Stevenson is mainly concerned with Asser's reference to the Selwood Forest as the boundary of a region west of which a revolt is supposed to have broken out against King Æthelwold. This reference to the Selwood Forest in Asser and in the Chronicle references under the years 878 and 894 have nothing to do with, and shed no light on, the annal for 709 here under discussion.

²⁸ OE *bewestan* is a compound preposition governing the dative case and means "to the west of." The phrase in the Old-English Chronicle can only mean "to the west of the forest," under no circumstances "near, by, around the Western Forest" as many former translators, including Stevenson, have wrongly rendered it. So "classically" but quite wrongly "by Westwood" in James Ingram's all too well known *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, dating from 1823 (Everyman Library No. 624, London, 1912 and later printings, p. 46).

²⁹ Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

Stevenson's explanation of the B-reading is, I think, essentially right, though I fancy that *wudu* of the other Chronicle texts was intended to stand for something more pretentious than a "belt of woodland" — a phrase that suggests to me a somewhat sparse growth of timber. When B, very likely an Abingdon (Berks) document,³⁰ was written (*ca.* 1000), the diocese of Sherborne (Do) had long since been further subdivided (in 909). The scribe of B, if a monk of Abingdon, may well have associated Aldhelm's major episcopal activity (about which in fact little is known)³¹ with the west of England and, thinking of Aldhelm's see as corresponding to one of the relatively new western dioceses, probably Somerset with its see then at Wells,³² may have arbitrarily modified *bewestan wuda* of his exemplar to *bewestan Selewuda*. This is all guess-work, of course, and must be so in the main, but the general thought lying behind B may indeed be in some measure not altogether unlike that which crops out in Ethelwerd who (as observed, p. 106, above) thought or seemed to think that the Selwood Forest area represented in some fashion the core of Aldhelm's diocese. Ethelwerd, however, does not modify or otherwise tinker with what we may think of as the "standard"-text of the Chronicle as B seems to have done in offering us *Selewuda* for the usual *wuda*; Ethelwerd puts the whole matter quite differently, that is, he makes a new statement and in a far less limiting fashion than B. Whereas B makes a flat statement that virtually excludes all territory east of Somerset (though by implication including everything westward to Land's End) and thus contradicts about half of William's report on the matter, Ethelwerd merely records a popular and probably local definition of Aldhelm's diocese that admits of extension east and west of the Selwood Forest, giving us a tract of territory that forms in fact almost the middle point of the diocese according to William of Malmesbury's definition.

We may now turn to William of Malmesbury's account. To Daniel with his see at Winchester (Ha) he assigns Hampshire

³⁰ Plummer, *op. cit.*, II, lxxxix.

³¹ Cf. Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-9.

³² See Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

and Surrey; to Aldhelm with his see at Sherborne (Do) he assigns Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. The see of Winchester did, as a matter of fact, for a time (at least for a few years after 705) also comprise Sussex,³³ though William is silent on this point. Everyone will, furthermore, doubtless agree that Cornwall and a good part of Devon cannot have constituted an effective portion of Aldhelm's bishopric, though there is, as suggested on pp. 107-8 and n. 19, above, little reason to object to the possibility or even likelihood of an allotment on paper, so to speak, of these relatively remote frontier regions. As the most easterly county of the Sherborne diocese William mentions Berkshire. Most of William's opponents wish to rule this county out and would obviously prefer to assign it to the see of Sherborne (Do),³⁴ though apparently on arbitrary grounds.³⁵ The most recent discussion I know is that by J. C. Cox. Cox is familiar with the sources and authorities already mentioned; cites many; accepts William's account in general, though like many of his predecessors excludes Berkshire from the see of Sherborne; follows Jones³⁶ in extending the bounds of the Selwood Forest to suit his convenience; and summarizes thus:

it seems, then, conclusive that the county of Berkshire at this period in its history . . . owed its ecclesiastical allegiance to Winchester and not to Sherborne.³⁷

Cox has no new material and marshals no new arguments. As a matter of fact the ecclesiastical history of Berkshire is — early and late — rather obscure: Hill, so certain *in re* the partition of 705, admits seventy odd pages later that it is "a moot point whether before the division of 909 Wiltshire and Berkshire were in the diocese of Sherborne or in that of Winchester."³⁸ As

³³ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 140 and n. 4, quoting Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* v, 18, ed. Plummer, I, 321; so, too, Haddan and Stubbs, *loc. cit.*, and Cox, *loc. cit.*

³⁴ Cassan, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Jones, *Salisbury*, p. 37; Freeman, *art. cit.*, p. 21; Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 171 (top); Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7; Miss Calthrop, *loc. cit.*

³⁵ Not so, however, Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 424, and Browne, p. 139.

³⁶ *Salisbury*, p. 37.

³⁷ J. C. Cox, *art. "Ecclesiastical History," Victoria County History of Berkshire II* (London, 1907), 2.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 218 (cf. pp. 146-7, cited, pp. 108-9 above).

far as I can discover, this disposition to link Berkshire of 705 with the see of Winchester rather than of Sherborne rests on some vague sense of geographical symmetry³⁹ and on the acceptance, with limitations agreeable to the writers, of B's *bewestan Selewuda* vs. William of Malmesbury's very different statement of the case.

To sum up: on the one hand, we have William of Malmesbury who is not necessarily contradicted by Ethelwerd, since, as noted, pp. 105-06, above, Ethelwerd's *Sealundscire* may naturally be thought of as the centre of William's area. On the other hand, we have *one* manuscript (B) of the Old-English Chronicle with the formula "*bewestan Selewuda*" which, if accepted at anything like its face-value removes from William's definition of the see of Sherborne not only Berkshire but also Wiltshire and a good three-quarters of Dorset; yet B leaves us by inference at least Devon and Cornwall, so seriously objected to by many of William's opponents. Freeman remarks: "William of Malmesbury is here plainly speaking recklessly";⁴⁰ in point of fact it would be hard to find more "reckless" contradiction than that indulged in by William's detractors.

Finally it may be observed that, according to William's account of the partition of 705, Wessex was left with two episcopates not at all unfairly divided territorially.⁴¹ The facts are more or less exhibited in the following table giving the square-acreage of the counties in question — with the omission of Cornwall and the inclusion of Sussex:

SEE OF WINCHESTER		SEE OF SHERBORNE	
Berkshire	463,830	Hants and Wight	1,053,042
Wiltshire	864,101	Surrey	461,833
Dorset	625,612	Sussex	932,471
Somerset	1,037,594		
ca. 1/5 Devon	334,273		
	3,205,406		2,447,346

³⁹ The western boundaries of Berkshire and Hampshire together form a north-south line of sorts.

⁴⁰ Art. cit., p. 20.

⁴¹ I comment on this matter largely because of Bright's repetition of William of Malmesbury's statement that the partition was not an equal one (op. cit., p. 423, bottom).

Of course these figures are modern ⁴² and scarcely give us the exact areas of the counties in question at the beginning of the eighth century, but they are probably close enough for the practical purpose of the present comparison. I have deliberately left Cornwall out of this calculation, likewise Devon west of the rivers Exe and Creedy, since, as observed, p. 107, above, this region can scarcely have included territory that Aldhelm would have been expected to visit. I have included Sussex since, as shown above (note 33), this county was almost certainly in 705 included in the see of Winchester. As it stands, however, the table shows that the eastern diocese was smaller in area than the western and in the process of subdivision it was probably intended to be so. But the difference in area was almost certainly equalized by the density of Christian English population, doubtless greater in Daniel's diocese of Winchester. Aldhelm was presumably given the western diocese of Sherborne in part at least because of his long familiarity with the southwest.

Thus I believe that William of Malmesbury's report is essentially right and that B's statement is essentially wrong. What remains is to seek a geographical interpretation of the phrase *bewestan wuda* of the overwhelming majority of the texts of the Old-English Chronicle and of Henry of Huntingdon's somewhat similar formula (*a silvis*). If William is right, the "forest" of the Chronicle (apart from B) and the "forests" of Henry of Huntingdon must lie approximately in western Hampshire. The phrase *bewestan wuda* is, of course, general and loose and clearly is not an attempt to define in any detail an irregular boundary. Now elsewhere in the Chronicle the word *wudu* m., "forest" is used absolutely only for the "forest of Andred," in other words "the Weald."⁴³ This great forest, of which but little now remains,⁴⁴ was at least as late as 893 of far greater

⁴² According to John Bartholomew, *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles* (8th ed., Edinburgh, 1932) under the respective counties.

⁴³ *Sub anno* 477 and 893; other instances cited in Plummer's ed. cit., I, 418, col. 1, under "*wudu*" either refer to "wood" in the sense of "lumber" or to "woodland" in general.

⁴⁴ See the New English Dictionary under "Weald" I (including Kent and parts of Sussex and Surrey), also Bartholomew cit. *supra* under "Weald."

extent. In the Old-English Chronicle it is described as running from the Kentish coast 120 miles (192 km.) west,⁴⁵ and this distance brings us somewhat *west* of Winchester. There seems, then, to be no strong argument against assuming that the original compilers of the Chronicle (presumably at Winchester) had in mind the Weald at its greatest extent or its Hampshire outliers when describing Aldhelm's diocese as *bewestan wuda*. Henry of Huntingdon's *silvae* may also quite properly be viewed as a reference to the extensive forest-land of western Hampshire.⁴⁶

I am, consequently, strongly tempted to interpret "*se wæs bewestan wuda biscop*" of the Chronicles (excepting B) by "he was bishop to the west of the (Hampshire) Weald," an interpretation that does not imply a forest-condition running counter to anything we know, that does not conflict with Ethelwerd's use of the term "*Sealuudscire*" as the central point (not boundary) of the diocese of Sherborne (Do). This identification is quite consistent with William of Malmesbury's statement of the case.

⁴⁵ See Hoffmann-Hirtz cit. note 20 above, p. 33, n. 1.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. Nisbet and G. W. Lascelles, art. "Forestry," Victoria County History of Hampshire II (London, 1903), 413: "During the Saxon and Danish periods the whole of the county . . . was probably thickly tree-clad." The chalk-downs and swamps are noted as obvious exceptions.

THE THRONE OF THE EMPEROR HENRY IN DANTE'S PARADISE AND THE MEDIAEVAL CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIAN KINGSHIP

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NOWHERE has Dante offered more ample evidence of his faith in the Roman *imperium* and admiration of the Emperor Henry VII than in a brief passage of six lines in the thirtieth canto of the *Paradiso*. There, beyond the limits of the corporeal spheres in the heaven which is pure light, surrounded by the saintly splendors of the City of God, Beatrice directs the poet's gaze to a vacant seat among the thrones of the blessed:

E 'n quel gran seggio a che tu li occhi tieni
Per la corona che già v' è su posta,
Prima che tu a queste nozze ceni
Sederà l' alma (che fia giù agosta)
De l' alto Arrigo, ch' a drizzare Italia
Verrà in prima che ella sia disposta.
(vv. 133-138)

And the power of these lines is consolidated by contrast with the bitter condemnation of Pope Clement V, which directly follows them. During his flight through the spheres Dante had frequently been reminded by the celestial inhabitants of the political affairs of earth below. But this, after all, is the very yellow of the eternal rose, the goal of the poet's journey. Yet Beatrice's words — the last spoken by her in the poem — are of temporal pope and emperor.

For at least one recent critic, moreover, the homage to Henry acquires tremendous force from another striking element in the passage. This is what is conceived to be the 'unfitness of a symbol of mundane sovereignty in Paradise.'¹ The motif of the vacant seat in Heaven, in Dante's peculiar use of which the discordance apparently lies, stems, it is true, from ancient

¹ *La divina commedia*, ed. C. H. Grandgent (revised ed., Boston, 1933), p. 942, n. 134.

Christian tradition,² but the instances of its occurrence in mediaeval popular lore to which the commentators have pointed, seem on first glance to intensify rather than dissipate the incongruity. For the *sedes vacua mirae pulchritudinis et gloriae* described by Caesarius of Heisterbach in the *Dialogus miraculorum*,³ the *sedile mirabiliter ornatum in quo nemo sedebat* of the Vision of Tundale,⁴ and the *sedes ceteris dignior, pretiosis ornata lapidibus et omni gloria refulgens*, seen, according to St. Bonaventura, in a vision by the Franciscan brother Pacificus,⁵ are all destined, not for kings or emperors, but for humble friars and simple monks.⁶ This is true also of what is surely among

² See Apoc. iv, 4 et passim and Psalms ix, 7. Christian iconography, moreover, offers many instances of thrones, called *etimasia*, prepared for the Judgment with crown, cross, lamb, roll and gospels: see, among other works on the subject, Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, art. *Etimasie*; and Kraus, *Realencyclopädie der christlichen Altertümer*, I, 432. These thrones appear to be an adaptation from similar pagan insignia, examples of which are found in connection with what the Romans called *sellisternium* and derived from the Greeks: see Lily Ross Taylor, 'A Sellisternium on the Parthenon Frieze?' *Quantulacumque*, Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake (London, 1937), especially pp. 262 ff. They are evidently related to the thrones used widely in Greek cult; for which see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, ed. Sellers (1895), pp. 429 ff. For the association of the throne and other insignia of rank with kings, it is particularly important to note that, according to Diodorus Siculus (xviii, 61, 1) Eumenes, secretary to Alexander the Great, set up, after his master's death, a golden throne, adorned with the king's diadem, scepter and armor before which Alexander's generals offered sacrifice, and that (xvi, 92, 5) at the marriage of Philip of Macedon's daughter an image of Philip seated on a throne was carried into the theatre among the twelve other thrones for the gods.

³ *Distinc. VI, cap. x* (Ed. J. Strange, Cologne, 1851, I, 364). See A. D'Ancona, 'I precursori di Dante,' in his *Scritti danteschi* (Firenze, 1912-1913), pp. 62-63, n. 3; F. D'Ovidio, 'Fonti dantesche, I: Dante e san Paolo,' *Nuova antologia*, 4to serie, LXVII (1897), 237-238 (reprinted in his *Studii sulla D. C.*, Milano-Palermo, 1901, p. 355; and Caserta, 1931, II, 85); and La D. C., ed. Grandgent, p. 942, n. 133.

⁴ *Visio Tnugdali*, ed. Albrecht Wagner (Erlangen, 1882), p. 54. Cf. D'Ancona, loc. cit., D'Ovidio, loc. cit., and Grandgent, p. 942, n. 133.

⁵ *Legenda sancti Francisci*, cap. vi, § 6 (S. Bonaventurae opera omnia, Ad Claras Aquas: Ex type. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1898, VIII, 521). Cf. U. Cosmo, 'Le mistiche nozze di Frate Francesco con Madonna Povertà,' *Giornale dantesco*, VI (1898-1899), 101-102. The visionary is unnamed; for his identification as Pacificus, see Bonaventurae opera, loc. cit., n. 6.

⁶ S. Bonaventurae opera, VIII, 521: 'Sedes ista unius de ruentibus [id est angelis cadentibus — VIII, 521, n. 7] fuit et nunc humili servatur Francisco.' In Caesarius the throne is for the simple friar Engilbert and the entire episode occurs in a section of praise *de virtute simplicitatis*. Similarly the throne in Tundale is intended for an unnamed and humble Irish friar; Wagner, p. 54.

the most elaborately set occurrences of the motif in the West, the account in the Long Latin text of the Apocalypse of St. Paul — a work almost certainly known to Dante and used by him ⁷ — of the jewelled thrones stored up in the City of Christ for God's foolish: 'Et conuertens uidi thronos aureos, et in ipsos diademas et zonas positas. Et respexi et uidi in interiora duodecimum murum alium ordinem thronorum qui in multa gloria uidebantur, ita ut nemo ualeat enarrare laudem eorum. "Qui sunt qui sessuri sunt super thronos?" Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, "Hii sunt throni eorum qui bonitatem et innocentiam habent et intellectum cordis, qui semetipsos stultos fecerunt propter deum, nescientes scripturas multas neque psalmos plures, sed unius capituli memores de preceptis dei, et audientes hec operati sunt in his in minuta diligentia, et studium rectum habentes coram dominum.'" ⁸

⁷ See my article 'Did Dante Know the Vision of St. Paul?' *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XIX (1937), 231 ff.; and 'The Passage of the Souls to Purgatory in the *Divina Commedia*,' *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXI (1938), especially 61-63.

⁸ The St. Gall Text (St. G.), § 29: Silverstein, *Visio sancti Pauli* (Studies and Documents, ed. Kirsopp and Silva Lake, no. IV, London, 1935), pp. 140-141. Grandgent, p. 942, n. 133, refers to the Syriac version, which, of course, Dante could not have known, but which provides us with assistance in solving a textual problem of some importance for this passage as it is related to the *Divina Commedia*. For the completer surviving form of the Latin Long Text (P), printed by M. R. James, *Apocrypha anecdota*, I (Texts and Studies, II, no. 3, Cambridge, Eng., 1893), pp. 26-27, varies significantly from the text quoted above, and James's emendations obscure further the empty throne motif: 'Et conuersus me uidi tronos aureos positos per singulas portas, et super eos <uiros habentes> diademas aureas <et> gemas: . . . Et interrogaui angelum et dixi: Domine, quis est super tronum? Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Ii troni eorum sunt qui bonitatem et intellectum hababant cordis et semetipsos stultos fecerunt propter dominum deum. . . .' The extant Greek text, which is abbreviated, omits this passage (C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 54, § 23), but the mutually independent testimony of the Syriac (Justin Perkins, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, VIII [1864], 201; G. Ricciotti, *L'Apocalisse di Paolo siriana*, Brescia, 1932, I, 63, § 29), the Coptic (E. A. Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1915, p. 536 and pp. 1055-56) and another late mediaeval Latin form (the 'Vienna Fragment,' in Silverstein, *Visio sancti Pauli*, p. 151) confirms the fact that P has suffered editorial modification. Moreover, there is conclusive evidence (Silverstein, p. 59) that it was the normal type of text represented by St. G. which circulated in the late Middle Ages and affected the history of the current abbreviations in Latin and the vernaculars.

Another work in which Dante might have found ample reference to empty thrones as seen by a living visitant to the Otherworld, is the Ascension of Isaiah, which circu-

Amidst so Pre-Raphaelite a brightness as this which encompasses the eternal reward of Christian simplicity, it might indeed seem a violation of poetic justice that even the memory should remain of mundane power.

But any view of the incongruity — however supposedly intentional — of Dante's image is formed without proper understanding of the two fundamental elements on which the passage is grounded. The first is the general eschatological motif of thrones and crowns, of which the mediaeval instances where they are vacant constitute but a single and, as dwelt on exclusively by the commentators, even a misleading aspect. The other is the traditional conception of Christian kingship, especially in its association with the throne motif. Seen in the increased light cast by these two elements, the fancied incongruity of the image in the *Paradiso* disappears entirely. With its disappearance the passage becomes, not a less, but a more powerful tribute to Henry VII from a new profundity that may be detected in its meaning.

The vision of the *sedes* seen by Brother Pacificus *in quadam ecclesia deserta* is the dramatic climax of a discourse on the practical idealism of the Franciscan Order which furnishes the clue to the traditions that we are seeking. 'Hac igitur de causa humilitatis forma,' St. Bonaventura tells us by way of introduction to the incident, 'Franciscus Fratres suos voluit vocari *Minores*, et prelatos sui Ordinis dici *ministros*, ut et verbis uteretur Evangelii, quod observare promiserat, et ex ipso nomine discerent discipuli eius, quod ad discendam humilitatem ad scholas humiles Christi venissent,' and he quotes Matthew xx, 26-27 in confirmation: 'Magister siquidem humilitatis Christus Iesus, ut informaret discipulos ad humilitatem perfectam, dixit: *Quicumque voluerit inter vos maior fieri, sit*

lated in the Middle Ages in two Latin versions (L¹ and L²); The Ascension of Isaiah, ed. R. H. Charles (London, 1900), Introduction, § 6, pp. xviii-xxi. Only L² now survives for the pertinent passages: vii, 22; viii, 26; ix, 10-13, 18, 24-26; xi, 40 (ed. Charles, pp. 109, 117-118, 120, 122, 123-124, 138). Moneta, *Adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, ed. Riechlinus (1742), p. 218, discussing the heretical sect known as the Cathari, offers a hint as to the circle in which the book was especially used in Dante's time. See Charles, p. xi, n. 1.

vester minister, et quicumque voluerit inter vos primus esse, erit vester servus.'⁹

The point of the quotation as regards the heavenly seat of the vision lies in the fact that in the Gospel Jesus, making response to the request of the mother of the sons of Zebedee that they 'may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on the left, in thy kingdom,' takes the opportunity to deal briefly with the entire problem of material and spiritual power. Together with its counterparts in Mark x and Luke xxii this discourse furnished the Middle Ages with the basis for its theory of the function of leadership in a Christian society and, furthermore, related this theory to the eschatological promise of the glory of thrones and crowns. The language of Luke, which varies somewhat from that of the others, is particularly significant for our purposes: 'Facta est autem et contentio inter eos, quis eorum videretur esse major. Dixit autem eis: Reges gentium dominantur eorum, et qui potestatem habent super eos, benefici vocantur. Vos autem non sic, sed qui major est in vobis, fiat sicut minor, et qui praecessor est, sicut ministrator. Nam quis major est, qui recumbit, an qui ministrat? nonne, qui recumbit? Ego autem in medio vestrum sum, sicut qui ministrat. Vos autem estis, qui permansistis mecum in tentationibus meis: et ego dispono vobis, sicut disposuit mihi Pater meus, regnum, ut edatis, et bibatis super mensam meam in regno meo, et sedeat super thronos judicantes duodecim tribus Israel.'¹⁰

The commentaries on these Scriptural passages do not usually apply them directly to the problems of secular Christian kingship. When specific reference is made it is either to the ecclesiastical hierarchy or, as in the discourse of Bonaventura, to the members of a religious brotherhood.¹¹ But the words in Luke

⁹ S. Bonaventurae opera, VIII, 521.

¹⁰ xxii, 24-30. Cf. Mark x, 35-45.

¹¹ For the line along which the commentaries chiefly moved see, among others, St. Jerome, Comm. in Evang. Matth., III, xx (Migne, Patrologia latina, XXVI, 149-150); Paulus Diaconus, Homilia LXXXIV (Migne, XCV, 1251); Bede, In Matth. evang. exposit., III, xx (Migne, XCII, 89); Rabanus Maurus, Comm. in Matth., VI, xx (Migne, CVII, 1031-1032); S. Bruno Astens, Comm. in Matth., IV, xxi, § 83 (Migne, CLXV, 239-240); Radulph Ardens, Homiliae, XXVI (Migne, CLV, 1403-1406); Peter Comestor, Hist. schol., cap. cxiii, 'In Evangelia'; Bede, In Lucae evang. expos., VI, xxii (Migne, XCII, 598-599); Albertus Magnus, In Marci evang., ad loc., and In Matth., ad loc.; St. Thomas Aquinas, In Matth. evang. expos. (ed. Parma, 1860, X,

on the throne of judgment and the explicit contrast in all three Gospels with kingship among the Gentiles, constantly kept before the eyes of the commentators the relevance of this passage within the narrower limits also of Christian monarchical authority.¹²

With the growth of Christianity into a civilization and its universal extension in the Middle Ages, the exhortation of Jesus which distinguished between the realms of God and Caesar, now might be applied equally to both. Behind the numerous discussions of the qualities of the good king lie the example of Christ's ministry and the spirit of his words to the contending disciples, if not the words themselves, together with various of the related passages in the Old Testament that express the ancient Hebrew conception of which the Christian is the fuller development.¹³ An arresting instance of such discussion appears in the treatise *De institutione regia* addressed by Bishop Jona of Orleans (ninth century) to Pippin: '*Attende quod timor Dei, et custodia praeceptorum ejus, et humilitas, quae non patitur eum extollere super fratres suos, et justitiae rectitudo, non solum regem, sed et filios ejus longo faciat regnare tempore. Ut ergo princeps extollentiam cavere debeat, Ecclesiasticus admonens ait: Principem te posuerunt, noli extolli, sed esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis* (Eccli. xxxii, 1). In *Proverbiis: Rex qui judicat in veritate pauperes, thronus ejus in aeternum firmabitur* (Prov. xxix,

188); Aquinas, *Catena aurea* in Matth. evang., cap. xx (ed. Parma, XI, 401), and *Catena aurea* in Luci evang., cap. xxii (XII, 229). St. Thomas's compilations provided easy access to relevant excerpts on these passages from several of the Greek fathers also, i.e., Theophylactus, Chrysostom, Basil, Origen.

¹² See especially Albertus Magnus, *In Evang. secundum Lucam*, xxii, 25 (*Opera omnia*, ed. Borgnet, xxiii, 681-682), whose exposition is a tissue of relevant quotation and comment on the activities of kings in general: "*Reges gentium.*" Hoc est, qui secundum jura Gentium, quae tamen a Deo sunt, "*reges*" sunt, hoc est, qui alios, leges utiles et honestas condendo, regunt: quia si aliter facerent, non reges sed tyranni vocarentur. Illi ergo tales reges "*dominantur eorum,*" hoc est, dominium exercent superpositionis in eos. Dominus enim cum severitate coercet subditos. . . . "Et qui potestatem habent super eos." Jure ordinatam per gladium coercendi malos ad laudem bonorum, "*benefici vocantur,*" quia ad litteram multis benefaciunt. Tamen quaedam Glossa dicit: "*Qui potestatem habent largiendi, benefici vocantur*"

¹³ In addition to the references to Proverbs in the passage next quoted in the text above from Bishop Jona, see especially the Jewish Encyclopedia, art. Compassion, for the ethical notions on which the Hebrew conception of leadership was based.

14). Item: *Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem, et roboratur clementia thronus ejus* (Prov. xx, 28).¹⁴ Jona confines his quotations here to the Old Testament, but the ideal Christian monarch so strikingly described by him is clearly the secular counterpart of the spiritual minister of the Gospels; just as the eternal throne with which, according to the Scriptural texts here adduced, royal justice and mercy are rewarded, corresponds to the seats of the just in Luke xxii.

Close enough to this tradition, moreover, to make a part of it and provide it with the force of additional distinguished illustration, stands the delineation, often repeated in the Latin West, of David as the type of the just and humble ruler. Thus, St. Zeno writes in the third, or perhaps the fourth, century: 'David quippe humilis, abjectus, ignobilis sui jacebat in domo patris, oves semper pascendo, propemodum peregrinus, innocens cum innocentibus deputatus. Hic placuit Deo, unctus in regem, spiratus in vatem: non insolescit in regno: obumbrat neminem prophetae terrore: injurias suas non exsequitur regia potestate: odientes se diligit: inimicis parcit: parricidalibus filiis ignoscit: persecutorem suum, et, quod magis est, regem aliquoties a Deo in manus traditum sibi, mavult semper timere quam occidere: inverso gratus officio, Deo, Dei mundus retinendo, placiturus. Rex mansuetus, pater pius, propheta modestus, totum potest, a toto dissimulat, magnis ac mirabilibus saeculi non immutatur, mitem humilemque retinet ubique pastorem.'¹⁵ And Burchard of Worms some eight hundred years later, discoursing on the proper exercise of royal power, offers testimony to the unfaded survival of the portrait: 'Qui recte utitur regni potestate, ita se praestare omnibus debet, ut quanto magis honoris celsitudine claret, tanto semetipso mentem humiliet proponens sibi exemplum humilitatis David, qui

¹⁴ Cap. iii (Migne, CVI, 288). Cf. Hincmar of Rheims, Migne, CXXV, 833, 835.

¹⁵ Tractatus, I, vii, 'De humilitate,' Migne, XI, 320-321. Cf. St. Hilary, Migne, loc. cit., note: 'David enim et propheta et rex, erat humilis antea et abjectus, neque convivio patris sui dignus, sed Deo complacuit: unctus in regem est, aspiratus est in prophetam. Non insolescit in regno, non odiis commovetur, persequentem se amat, inimicorum mortes honorat, incestuosus et parricidalibus parcit. Imperator contemnitur, pater laeditur, propheta vexatur: ultionem non ut propheta orat, vindictam non ut pater sumit, contumeliam non ut imperator exsequitur.'

de suis meritis non tumuit, sed humiliter sese dejiciens, dixit: Vilis incedam, et vilis apparebo ante Deum, qui elegit me. Qui recte utitur regni potestate, formam justitiae, factis magis quam verbis instituet.' ¹⁶

We need not pause for all the references to the lowliness, justice and compassion desirable in a king, to the Christian requirement that justice be accompanied by mercy and fair words by deeds of charity, which lie scattered in profusion through mediaeval thought and writing.^{16a} Instead we may read what will serve as a summary of the tradition in the eloquent words of the Testament of Benjamin on the character of the good man and his heavenly reward. Written originally during the second century B.C. for a world quite different from that of the late Middle Ages, this book had been freshly brought to the knowledge of Dante's generation by the influential Latin rendering of Robert Grosseteste: 'Videte, filii, boni viri finem: imitamini in bona mente misericordiam ipsius, ut & vos coronis gloriae induamini. Bonus homo non habet tenebrosium oculum, miseretur enim omnibus, etiamsi sint peccatores, & inierint consilia de ipso mala. Nam qui benefacit, vincit malum, protectus a bono: Justos autem diligit, ut animam suam. Si quis glorificatur, non invidet, si quis ditatur, non zelat, si quis fortis est, hunc laudat, castum credens, laudat: eum, qui habet Dei timorem protegit, diligenti Deum cooperatur, reprobantem altissimum admonet, ut convertatur, & habentem gratiam spiritus boni diligit secundum animam suam. Pauperi misereatur, infirmo compatitus, Deum laudat & veneratur.' ¹⁷ To this

¹⁶ *Decretorum libri XX, XV, xxxix*, Migne, CXL, 905-906.

^{16a} Besides Jona and Hincmar, see particularly Abbo of Fleury (ca. 990), in *Recueil des historiens de France*, par les Benedictins de Saint Maur (nouv. ed., L. Delisle, Paris, 1869 et seq.), X, 627; and the Sixth Council of Paris, canons, ii, 1 (P. Labbé, *Sacrosancta concilia*, Venice, 1729, IX, 746 ff., and Mansi, *Concilia*, Venice, 1769, XIV, 574 ff.), which incorporates Jona's treatise. For a twelfth-century picture of this continuing ecclesiastical-patriarchal conception of royalty, see John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, iv, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8; v, 6; vi, 20, 24, 25, 27, et passim. Cf. John Dickinson, 'The Mediaeval Conception of Kingship and Some of its Limitations, as Developed in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury,' *Speculum*, I (1926), 308 ff.

¹⁷ Test. Benj., IV, in Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphis veteris testamenti* (2nd ed., Hamburg, 1723), I, 731; reprinted from J. E. Grabe, *Spicilegium ss. patrum*, vol. I (Oxford, 1698). Benjamin's words lose none of their relevance to the present inquiry

we may add, by way of supplement from a strictly contemporary document, the account of royal charity and the art of ruling in the *De regimine principum* of Tolomeo of Lucca, a work which the poet vigorously opposed for its Papal politics yet as deeply drew on for its view of the place of Rome in universal history: 'Praeterea, reges et principes vices Dei gerunt in terris, per quos Deus mundum gubernat sicut per causas secundas. . . . Sed Deo specialiter est cura pauperum, ad naturae ipsorum defectum supplendum. Propter quod sit, agit divina providentia circa indigentem, sicut pater erga filios impotentes, de quibus amplior incumbit sollicitudo propter ampliorem necessitatem. . . . Ergo ad istum defectum pauperum supplendum, sicut vices Dei gerentes in terris principes et praelati sunt debitores, et sicut patres quos cogit officium esse auxiliares subditorum, ut Philosophus dicit in viii *Ethicorum*, ipsorum cum effectu beneficii specialem debent curam habere. . . . Amplius autem quia reges et principes communes habent actiones, et universalem diligentiam subditorum, cum non sufficiat homo solus ad proprias actiones, quod in multis deficiant, quia talis actio, sive actiones quae sunt populum gubernare, judicare, ac unicuique suorum subditorum secundum merita providere, transcendit virtutem naturae: propter quod dicitur, quod est ars artium regimen animarum. Et arduum est valde, ut qui nescit tenere moderamina vitae suae, iudex fiat vitae alienae. . . . Unde impossibile est reges et principes non errare propter dictam causam, nisi ad illum qui omnia gubernat et omnium est conditor se convertant. . . . Sunt ergo ipsae eleemosynae, quas faciunt principes indigentibus, quasi quidam fidejussor coram Deo pro ipsis ad solvendum debita peccatorum, ut Philosophus dicit de numismate respectu rerum venalium. Et sicut numisma est mensura in permutationibus pro vita corporali, ita eleemosyna in vita spirituali, propter quod in Ecclesiastico xvii, 18, dicitur: *Eleemosyna viri quasi sacculus cum ipso, et gratiam hominis quasi pupillam oculi conservabit.*'¹⁸

from the fact that his figure is limited to the other element of our two-fold eschatological motif, the crown of compassion rather than the throne of justice.

¹⁸ De reg. princ., II, xv, S. Thomae Aquinatis opuscula selecta (Paris, 1881), III,

There is a passage in the twelfth-century Vision of Tundale, important for its connection with this tradition, which has been strangely neglected by the commentators on *Paradiso* xxx. This is the description of the good King Cormach, seated on a throne in his ornate dwelling in Paradise and attended by priests and a group of laymen bringing gifts: 'Cum autem illa anima in talibus delectaretur edificiis, circumspiciens vidit unum sedile aureum, cum gemmis et serice et omnibus ornamentis ornatum, et vidit dominum regem Cormachum in ipso throne sedere vestitum talibus vestimentis, qualibus, nec ipse nec aliquis regum terre unquam vestiri potuit. Dum igitur ipse ammirans aliquantulum staret, venerunt plurimi in illam domum cum muneribus ad regem et offerebant illi singuli cum gaudio munera sua. Et cum diutius ante dominum suum regem staret . . . , venerunt multi sacerdotes et levite vestiti sollempniter sicut ad missam cum sericis casulis et ceteris ornatibus valde bonis, et ornabatur undique regia domus mirabili ornamento. . . . Tunc anima dixit ad angelum: Miror, mi domine, unde huic domino meo tot ministri, inter quos nec unum de suis, dum esset in corpore, possum conicere. Non sunt isti, ait angelus, de ejus familia, quam habebat, dum esset in corpore. . . . Isti enim, quos tu vides, omnes sunt pauperes Christi et peregrini, quibus ipse rex largiebatur bona temporalia, dum illic esset in corpore, et ideo per manus ipsorum retribuitur ei merces eterna hic sine fine.'¹⁹ It is clear, I think, that the account owes some-

316-317. For the influence on Dante see my article, 'On the Genesis of *De Monarchia*, II, v,' *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 326 ff. The authorship and date of the work, the opening of which is ascribed to St. Thomas, are treated conclusively by Marius Krammer in the introduction to his edition of the *Determinatio compendiosa* (*Fontes iuris germanici antiqui*, Hannover and Leipzig, 1909) and Martin Grabmann, 'Ein Selbstzeugnis Tolomeos von Lucca für seine Autorschaft an der *Determinatio compendiosa de iurisdictione imperii*,' *Neues Archiv*, XXXVII (1911-1912), 818-819.

¹⁹ Visio Tnugdali, ed. Wagner, pp. 43-44. Cf. the Latin poem, Wagner, p. 99, vv. 1256-1271, and the German Albers Tnugdalus, pp. 168-170, vv. 1597 ff. In the Latin text printed by P. Villari, *Antiche leggende e tradizioni che illustrano la Divina commedia* (Pisa, 1865), pp. 16-17, the king is incorrectly named Tormac, t and c being readily confused in ms. The entire incident is omitted from Villari's Italian version; *Antiche leggende*, p. 44.

Here also may be mentioned the remarkable account in the tenth-century Visio Karoli Crassi of the 'Roman' emperors seated on their jewelled thrones in Paradise: 'Cumque cerneret comes meus in tanto pavore esse spiritum meum, dixit ad me:

thing to the renowned passage on otherworld visions in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, where Peter hears of a magnificent mansion being erected in Paradise and is told in explanation that, with each deed of charity on earth, the compassionate man helps piece by piece to build his house of gold in the life to come and that the builders are the souls of the former beneficiaries of his human sympathy.²⁰ But unlike Tundale Gregory is talking of all men, not of royalty in particular. If we are to understand fully the significance of Cormach and his heavenly reward, it must be in the light of the long Judeo-Christian tradition of the compassionate and serviceable king. The passage from Tundale thus bears in large part the character of a literalization, in a piece of popular lore current during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of the admonition and eschatological promise of Luke xxii: 'he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve. . . . And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; That ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'

And this, no doubt, is how Dante would have understood it.

"sequere me ad dexteram partem luculentissimae vallis paradisi." Et gradientes contemplatus sum ingenti claritate cum gloriosis regibus sedere Hlotharium meum avunculum super lapidem topasion mirae magnitudinis, coronatum diademate pretioso, et juxta eum filium ejus Hludogvicum similiter corona ornatum; vidensque me cominus accersivit me, blanda voce magna dicens: "Karole, successor meus nunc tutius in imperio Romanorum, veni ad me. Sapio quoniam venisti per poenalem locum, ubi est pater tuus fraterque meus positus in thermis sibi destinatis; sed per misericordiam Dei citissime liberabitur de illis poenis, sicut et nos liberati sumus meritis sancti Petri sanctique precibus Remigii, cui Deus magnum apostolatum super reges et super omnem gentem Francorum dedit." (Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, III, xxi, ed. F. Lot, *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*, Paris, 1894, pp. 147-148.) Though this passage contains no reference to the tradition of royal justice and compassion, the direct association of the incident with the Roman imperium would have made it particularly attractive to Dante. For Dante's possible knowledge of the Visio see my note, 'Inferno, XII, 100-126, and the Visio Karoli Crassi,' *MLN*, November, 1936, pp. 449-452.

²⁰ *Dialogorum liber IV*, cap. xxxvi, Migne, LXXVII, 384-388. Edmund Gardner (ed.), *The Dialogues of Saint Gregory, surnamed the Great*, transl. P. W. [1608] (London and Boston: Philip Lee Warner, the Medici Society, n.d.), p. 274, nn. to pp. 223-226, observes briefly the ultimate connection of this passage with Dante but not with Cormach.

With the Judeo-Christian tradition of kingly rule the mediaeval 'idea of Rome,' mistress of world peace and arbiter of universal justice, easily coalesced. The literary source of the idea may be said to be a single, famous phrase from Virgil:

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos
(Aen. vi, 851-853)

the magnificence of which dazzled the imagination of the Middle Ages, as its nobility has since captured our own. Thus when in the anonymous twelfth-century *Gesta per Imperatorem Fridericum Barbam Rubeam* the emperor seeks divine assistance to success, his prayer contains a paraphrase of these verses that is symptomatic of their pervasive influence: 'Da populos superare feros, da pace sequestra / Subiectos regere et gladio cohibere superbos.'²¹ As for the coalescence of the two traditions, its pattern is foreshadowed by the opening sentences of St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, where Virgil's phrase is juxtaposed with Proverbs iii, 34, James iv, 6, and 1 Peter v, 5, to indicate the two-fold nature of divine justice — its repressive power and its protective grace: 'Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.'²² Under the influence of St. Augustine the same juxtaposition likewise provides substance for a major theme of the ninth-century discourse on kingship by Bishop Jona.²³

More directly relevant to Dante is the flowering of the idea of Rome in the pamphleteering controversy which accompanied the bitter struggle between Pope and Emperor during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To this controversy, especially for their relationship to the *De monarchia*, Tolomeo of Lucca's *Determinatio compendiosa* and his continuation of Aquinas's *De regimine principum*²⁴ are not the least distinguished contributions. Tolomeo is guided to his position largely by St. Augustine also. His view that the rightfulness of Roman dominion rested in great part on their zeal for justice and the exercise of

²¹ Ed. Ernesto Monaci, in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1887), p. 73.

²² *De civ. Dei*, Praefatio.

²³ *De institutione regia*, Migne, CVI, 293-295.

²⁴ See n. 18 above.

compassion (*pietas, civilis benevolentia, humanitas*)²⁵ touches both poles of the realm marked out in the introduction to the *De civitate Dei*. Similarly Dante begins his treatment of the subject in *De monarchia* II, v, with an assertion of the intense concern of the ancient Romans for *ius* and summarizes his view by quoting a renowned phrase about Roman compassion from the Christian legend of Constantine and St. Silvester: '*Romanum imperium de Fonte nascitur pietatis.*'²⁶

Iustitia and *pietas* — the curbing, measuring quality of justice and its humanity —, that these two elements constituted the strength of imperial authority, every man in the fourteenth century would have agreed, whatever his opinion of the relative power of court and curia. Of them the Christian Scriptures and the persistent mediaeval memory of ancient Rome wrought in literature and legend the portrait of an ideal king worthy of the noblest place in the Christian Paradise.

²⁵ Determ. compend., capp. xxi-xxiii (ed. Krammer, pp. 42 ff.). Cf. *De reg. princ.*, III, capp. iv-vi (*Opusc. select.*, III, 326 ff.).

²⁶ Ed. Enrico Rostagno, in *Le opere di Dante* (Firenze, 1921), pp. 376-377. See my article, 'On the Genesis of *De monarchia*, II, v,' especially pp. 330 ff. To the discussion there of *pietas* = *humanitas* and the instances referred to especially on p. 331, nn. 3-5, and p. 332, nn. 1-3, should be added the following examples, which have particular interest for the history of the word, since those quoted in the *DuCange Glossarium* and the *Godefroy Dictionnaire* are few and relatively late: St. Zeno (3rd or 4th century), *Tractatus*, I, iii, § iv (Migne, XI, 285): 'in pauperos miserosque sua necessitate neglecta pietatis largitur et furtim semina spargit'; and *Tractatus*, I, x, § v: 'Sed haec non ad vos, fratres, quorum largitas provinciis omnibus nota est, quorum pia semina totius quodam modo orbis per membra jactantur.' The Merovingian epitaph of one Epae-fanius, in E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1856-1865), no. 407: 'pius pauperibus.' Petrus Damianus (11th century), *Opuscula*, LVII, *De principiis officio in coercitione improborum* (Migne, CXLV, 825): 'noxiae pietatis imaginem a te procul exclude, et erga populum, qui tibi commissus est, satage semper iustitiam custodire'; and (Migne, CXLV, 826-827): 'et Deus illi non paternae, sed quod majus est, viscera maternae pietatis impendat? Ut qui stans pro pupillis et viduis adversus impiorum nequitias dimicat, ipse tanquam lacteola soboles sub confoventibus se divinae pietatis uberibus requiescat'; and: 'Multi nempe falsae pietatis errore decepti, unde se Deo placere insipienter autumnat, inde adversus eum crudeliter pugnant; et ex eo merentur iram, unde se adepturos opinati sunt gratiam; et dum aliis veniam falsae pietatis impertiunt, ipsi motum divinae indignationis incurrunt.' See also Hugutio of Pisa, *Magnae derivationes* (12th century), MS. Laud 626, f. 136: 'Pius -a -um: religiosus, misericors, benignus, propitius. . .'. For Dante's knowledge of Hugutio, see Paget Toynbee, 'Dante's Latin Dictionary,' *Dante Studies and Researches* (London, 1902), pp. 97 ff.

In the autumn of 1310 the Emperor Henry VII crossed the Alps into Italy, bringing new hope to his adherents on the peninsula. His coming was doubly important for Dante, who now at last might look forward to a return from exile to his native Florence. And in his enthusiasm the poet wrote three letters of flaming eloquence.

To Dante Henry was the ideal Christian king. He came to Italy, not for his own ease, but for his people's.²⁷ He was of the race of Aeneas, a second Moses, of the seed of Jesse, the Lamb of God.²⁸ He would be stern with the iniquitous, the impious, the backsliders, but compassionate to those who sought mercy, 'cum sit Cesar et [and the phrase is that same maxim attributed to Constantine] maiestas eius de Fonte defluat pietatis.'²⁹ With a reminiscence at once of Virgil and Lactantius,³⁰ the writer speaks of the approach of a new Golden Age of peace and justice, delayed hitherto only by the malice of the iniquitous. The intensity of Dante's joy, betrayed in the eager impatience of these letters, is the fullest measure of his profound despair when, three years later, Henry lay prematurely dead of fever at Buonconvento, his purpose unfulfilled. For with him died all of Dante's hope on earth.

As the visionary in the thirtieth canto of the *Paradiso* stands amidst the splendors of the Heavenly City, it is entirely human that, for just a moment before immersion in the final mystical experience, there should be a turning back, through Beatrice's guiding speech, to all the old and poignant concerns of earth

²⁷ *Epistole*, VI, vi, 25, ed. Ermenegildo Pistelli, in *Le opere di Dante* (1921), p. 425; 'non sua privata sed publica mundi commoda sitiens. . .'

²⁸ VII, iv and v, ed. Pistelli, pp. 427-428; V, i, 4, p. 420; VII, viii, 29, p. 429; VII, ii, 10, p. 427.

²⁹ V, iii, 7, ed. Pistelli, p. 420. See also V, ii, 6: 'prope est qui liberabit te de carcere impiorum; qui percuteus malignantes in ore gladii perdet eos . . .'; and V, iii, 10: 'nonne relapsorum facinora vindicabit . . . ?'

³⁰ Virgil is directly referred to (*Ep.* VII, i, 6, ed. Pistelli, p. 426), but not Lactantius. Cf., however, the passages in the *Epistles* (particularly VI, iii) and *Paradiso* xxx with *Divin. inst.*, V, *De iustitia*, capp. vi and vii, where the injustice of darker times is said to be the result of human cupidity and the return of the Golden Age to depend on the restoration of justice at the coming of Christ. Critics have been in doubt about whether Dante knew Lactantius, but this is from nothing more definite than the failure hitherto to discover satisfactory positive evidence.

below. The condemnation of the popes is sharpened by a bitter irony, the irony that of the two great divisions of authority in God's temporal realm, the one which might properly be the more worldly is destined to be prevented from achieving its divine mission ³¹ by the mundane greed of the more spiritual power. For this interference with the workings of divine justice Pope Clement will merit forever the torments of Hell.

But as for Henry, his place, like that of the good king Cormach, is on a throne in Heaven among God's saints. His reward — so the long line of Christian writings makes clear from the Gospels to the Vision of Tundale — is not the divine recognition of imperial *power*, but the accolade of kingly righteousness. For the throne is the throne of Justice, and the crown is the crown of Compassion.

³¹ Cf. Ep. V, iv, 14, ed. Pistelli, p. 420.

BARLAAM AND IOASAPH

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SOURCE of half a hundred medieval popular romances, the Greek version of the Barlaam and Ioasaph legend ¹ has been variously ascribed to three different authors widely separated in time: to St. John of Damascus (c. 676-749), to an anonymous author supposed to have flourished about 600, and to St. Euthymius (d. 1028), a monk of Mount Athos. All three attributions are at present current; it now seems clear that we must discard the first two, and that we are justified in naming Euthymius as the author of this Greek version. The oriental language from which he derived this version we can now identify as Georgian. A brief summary of the evidence which may be adduced for all three attributions is in order here.

No manuscript dating from before 1500 names John of Damascus as the author of the Greek Barlaam. With two notable exceptions to which we shall return, these early manuscripts ² bear with very slight variations the following title: *Barlaam and Ioasaph, An Edifying Story from the Inner Land of the Ethiopians, called the Land of the Indians, thence brought to the Holy City by John the Monk (an Honourable Man and a Virtuous of the Monastery of St. Saba)*.³ Probably because John of Damascus was named John, and because he retired to and died at St. Saba,⁴ he was identified by late copyists as the John mentioned in the title. This identification was later copied and recopied until it became a tradition which nobody questioned

¹ The Buddhist origin of the narrative, and the Indian origin of the Apologues are too well-known to need comment, and not sufficiently relevant here to need full bibliographical references, of which there are a great many. See, however, R. L. Wolff, *The Apology of Aristides — A Re-Examination*, Harvard Theological Review, XXX, 1937, pp. 233-47, p. 233, note 1.

² Listed, but not arranged in a pedigree, by H. Zotenberg, *Notice sur le Livre de Barlaam et Josaphat, accompagnée d'extraits du texte grec et des versions arabes et éthiopiennes*, in *Notices et extraits des Mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. XXVIII, Paris, 1886, pp. 3 ff.

³ G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *St. John Damascene. Barlaam and Ioasaph*, London, Heinemann, 1914 (Loeb Classical Library), p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xx.

before Zotenberg, and to which Woodward and Mattingly return. Apart, however, from the more or less convincing arguments adduced by Zotenberg⁵ against John's authorship there is one absolutely conclusive proof that John could not possibly have written the Greek *Barlaam*: among the works from which the author of the Greek *Barlaam* borrowed passages is the Passion of St. Catherine, in the tenth century version of Simeon the Metaphrast.⁶ This renders the hypothesis of an eighth century author manifestly absurd, unless we are prepared to assume a later insertion of this borrowed material — an assumption which presents too many difficulties for consideration.⁷

This same argument militates against the second hypothesis first proposed by Zotenberg: that of a seventh century author who flourished about 600, before Mohammedanism.⁸ Nevertheless this theory has had until recently the support of many competent scholars.⁹

The third attribution — to Euthymius¹⁰ — was first suggested by Von Rosen,¹¹ a Russian student of Arabic. He based

⁵ Op. cit., *passim*.

⁶ J. Rendel Harris, A New Christian Apology in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, VII, 1923, pp. 355-83; The Quest for Quadratus in *ibid.*, VIII, 1924, pp. 384-97; The Sources of Barlaam and Joasaph in *ibid.*, IX, 1925, pp. 119-29. More important are: J. Armitage Robinson, The Passion of St. Catherine and the Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph in Journal of Theological Studies, XXV, 1924, pp. 246-53; and E. Klostermann and E. Seeberg, Die Apologie der heiligen Katharina in Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft, I, 2, 1924. See especially the review of all the above by Father H. Delehaye in Analecta Bollandiana, XLV, 1927, pp. 151-3.

⁷ Wolff, op. cit., pp. 241 ff.

⁸ He arrives at this *e silentio* — There is no mention of the Mohammedans in the Greek *Barlaam*.

⁹ In it concur: E. Kuhn, Barlaam und Joasaph, Eine Bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie, in Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XX, 1894, pp. 1-87; J. Jacobs, Barlaam and Josaphat, London, David Nutt, 1896, who follows Kuhn entirely; and K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches, 2nd ed., München, 1897, pp. 889-91. This last contains an excellent bibliography up to 1897.

¹⁰ The material in this and the following paragraphs may be fully elucidated by reference to the following: P. Peeters, La Première Traduction Latine de Barlaam et Joasaph et son Original Grec, Analecta Bollandiana, XLIX, 1931, pp. 276-312; and Wolff, op. cit., p. 234, note 2.

¹¹ Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imp. Russk. Arch. obščestva, II, 1887, pp. 166-74. (This periodical hereafter referred to as Zapiski.)

his conclusions upon the two Greek manuscript-titles mentioned above as exceptional. These name Euthymius as the author. They are Venice, Marc. VII, 26, of the eleventh century, which also names Georgian as the language from which he translated, and Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1771, of the fifteenth.¹² Von Rosen also called attention to a reference in a Georgian life of Euthymius, which ascribes to him the translation of "Balavari" — the Barlaam story.¹³ Then followed the actual discovery, publication, and translation of the Georgian text,¹⁴ and the support of Von Rosen's suggestion by Hommel and Marr,¹⁵ opposed as we have seen especially by Kuhn.

So the matter remained vexed until the publication by Père Peeters of a brilliant article already cited — *La première Traduction Latine de Barlaam et Joasaph, et son Original Grec*.¹⁶ This 'first Latin translation' exists in a fourteenth century manuscript, VIII, B. 10. of the National Library at Naples.¹⁷

¹² Venice Marc. VII. 26, as follows:

[Ἰο]τορία [ψυχ]ωφελῆς ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν χώρας πρὸς τὴν ἡλίαν πόλιν μετενεχθεὶς διὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου σάββα μεταφρασθῆσα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰβήρων πρὸς τὴν ἐλάδα γλῶσσαν ὑπὲρ εὐθυμίου ἀνδρὸς τιμίου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς τοῦ λεγομένου ἡβηρος.

Paris Bibl. Nat. 1771 as follows:

Λόγοι ψυχοφελῆς μετενεχθεῖσαι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἐθιοπῶν ἐσωτέρας χώρας τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς καὶ μεταβληθῆσαι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἐθιοπῶν διαλέκτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἑλληνίδα γλῶσσαν παρὰ Εὐθυμίου τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ἡβυρος τοῦ καὶ γεγωνότος καθηγητοῦ τῆς μεγάλης λάβρας τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἁγίου ὥρους. Peeters, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-3.

¹³ Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 234 note 2. 'This life, written by Euthymius' relative and successor, St. George the Hagiorite, is now available in a Latin translation by Father Paul Peeters: *Vies des S.S. Jean et Euthyme in Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, extract from *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVI-VII, Bruxelles, 1923. The Balavar reference appears on p. 15: "Balahvarum . . . ex hiberico sermone in Graecum convertit."

¹⁴ Partially published by N. Marr, *Mudrost' Balavari* (The Wisdom of Balavar) in *Zapiski*, III, 1888, pp. 223-60. Then published in full (in Georgian) by E. Takaishvili, *Sibrdzne Balahvarisi*, Tiflis, 1895, and translated into Russian by I. Džavakhov in *Zapiski*, XI, 1897-8, pp. 5-48. An English translation by Prof. R. P. Blake is available in the Widener Library at Harvard.

¹⁵ F. Hommel in N. Weisslovits, *Prinz und Derwisch*, Munich, 1890, pp. 129-78, and N. Marr, *Armjano-gruzinskie materialy dlja istorii Dužepoleznoi Povesti o Varlaame i Ioasafe*, in *Zapiski*, XI, 1898, pp. 49-78, and *Agiographičeski Materialy*, in *Zapiski*, XIII, 1901, pp. 89-103.

¹⁶ See above, note 10.

¹⁷ A. Poncelet, *Catal. Cod. Hag. Lat. Bibl. Neapolitanarum*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXX, 1922, pp. 173-7 catalogues this manuscript, and reprints part of the prologue to the Barlaam translation. B. de Gaiffier, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII, 1930, p. 428, in reviewing G. Moldenhauer's *Die Legende von Barlaam und Josaphat auf der Iber-*

The Barlaam translation occupies the last portion of this manuscript, from folio 416v to folio 502v.¹⁸ Its title reads as follows: *Hystoria Barlae et Iosaphat de interiori Aethiopia deducta per venerabilem monachum monasterii sancti Sabae in Heliam urbem et translata in eolico per Eufinium sanctum virum.*¹⁹ Eufinium is the equivalent of Euthymium.

The prologue to this manuscript, from which Peeters starts his article, is a remarkable circumstantial account, specifically dated, by the anonymous translator, of the circumstances under which he came to make the translation from Greek to Latin of this edifying story. The relevant portions of this prologue I here translate.²⁰ (*Italics mine.*)

"In the sixth year of Constantine Monomachus, Augustus, the most holy, the lord triumphator, I was ensnared (irretirer) within the curving walls of the mistress of cities by imperial duties (augustalibus curis); and my eager desire for intensive research (assidua conjecturae intentio militantis) led my intention among Greek books, that I might set down something worthy of remembrance, taking it, like a bee, from the various flowers of the Achivi. This I was driven to do by the continual contemplation of my solitude, so far from home, pondering the present, and fearing the future. With my troubles as incentive while my mind was fluttering hither and thither (cum in talibus incitamentis sollicitudinum ventilaretur animus in diversa) a certain man named Leo handed me a book.

"He begged me, for the sake of an offering to God, and the memory of the holy Barlaam, that I translate from the Greek into Latin in simple language, this unknown work from the ancients, never before translated, and up to my time completely buried in oblivion. Then anxiety for work and brotherly love urged me on, so that eagerness for activity spurred me to undertake a task of whose performance literary inertia was disapproving. And strengthened by the prayers of my brother, I bound myself to translate word for word, and sense for sense, after the manner of the ancients, and also undertook to

ischen Halbinsel (Iberisch here refers to Spain and Portugal, not to Georgia) Halle, 1929, points out that Moldenhauer has neglected this Latin translation. Except for these mentions, until Peeters' article this manuscript has as far as I know been ignored by scholars.

¹⁸ It has been my privilege to work from a photostatic reproduction of this section of the manuscript, now available in the Widener Library. I have entirely transcribed it, and find that it throws some interesting sidelights upon the legend, besides supplying the material here published. I hope soon to publish further articles on these matters.

¹⁹ Peeters, op. cit., p. 281. Naples ms. 416v 2. The ms. is double-columned: Thus the above notation means folio 416, verso, column 2.

²⁰ Peeters, op. cit., pp. 277-9 reprints this prologue, which, in the ms., runs from 416v 2 to 417v 1.

make the text clearer in the proper places, or in part to change it, so that my editing would at once render it delightful reading for the diligent, and stop forever the mouths of the carpingly critical."

Here he begins to translate, and the remainder of the prologue is simply a Latin version of the Greek.

But we have received invaluable clues, of which Peeters proceeds to take every advantage. In the first place, we have a definite date: the sixth year of Constantine Monomachus fell between June 1048 and June 1049. Secondly, we know that, at least in the opinions of our translator and of the *quidam Leo*, who gave him the book, the story of Barlaam and Ioasaph was as yet completely unknown in the west. Peeters draws the following conclusions: the translator was a "Latin," a churchman, conscious of his own good literary reputation, discontented at being in Constantinople (*domina civitatum*). He proceeds with great plausibility to identify him as a member of the entourage of Argyros, a Latin military leader in Constantinople at the time, and Leo as a member of the Amalfitan Monastery on Mt. Athos, whence he could easily have brought the Greek work of Euthymius, the recently deceased *καθηγητῆς* of the Georgian monastery on the same mountain.²¹

Thus we now have a considerable body of evidence brought to bear in support of Euthymius' authorship. As to the language from which he translated or rather adopted the Greek *Barluam*, no one who is prepared to admit that he was the author would support the claim of any language other than Georgian — Euthymius' native tongue, and the one into which he translated many works of Greek authors.²² Those scholars, however, who adhere to the views of Kuhn, and therefore refuse to admit that Euthymius wrote the Greek Barlaam, adapting it from the Georgian, insist upon imagining, together with the unknown author of the year 600, a hypothetical Syriac version as the bridge between the ancient oriental versions and

²¹ Ibid., pp. 279–80 and 286–7. Peeters cites also the evidence for Euthymius' authorship afforded by the Gelathi ms. of the Testament of St. John, Euthymius' father. Cf. Wolff, op. cit., p. 246 and notes. Thus we have Euthymius' authorship confirmed twice in Georgian, twice in Greek, and once in Latin.

²² See R. P. Blake, Georgian Theological Literature, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVI, 1924, pp. 54 ff.

the Greek. This imaginary Syriac version they derive immediately from the Pehlevi, whose earlier existence no one contests.²³ By telling philological proof, and a clear demonstration that Kuhn was both ignorant of and flippant concerning Georgian, Peeters has shown that all notions of any such Syriac version must be abandoned, and that all arguments in its favor can be transmuted into more powerful ones which militate for the Georgian as the source for the Greek and an Arabic version as the source of the Georgian.²⁴ Since, however, Peeters had available for study only the prologue of the Naples manuscript, he has been limited to these philological arguments for the Georgian source.

To these arguments we are able to add those presented by the following passage, which occurs without warning or explanation, not, as might be expected, at the very end of the Naples manuscript, but a little before the end.²⁵ It is a personal message from the translator to the reader; nothing like it occurs in the Greek which he was translating. As we have seen, he states in the prologue his intention of changing the Greek and editing his Latin text where he may feel it desirable. In this part of the manuscript²⁶ these expansions and changes are longer and more noticeable than those anywhere else in his translation; so here, too, while closing the Latin story in a burst of his own

²³ The Pehlevi version, or rather versions are noted in the *Kitab-al-Fihrist* of Abu'l Faraj an-Nadim, who died about 1000 A.D. This work is a list of those Pehlevi (middle Persian) books translated into Arabic. The Pehlevi version was probably done at the court of Khusrō I in the sixth century when many pieces of Indian literature were translated, and was almost certainly the first Christian form of the legend. The reason for assuming a Syriac text is that many works passed into Greek from the Pehlevi *via* Syriac; Barlaam and Ioasaph, however, took the more unusual route of Arabic and Georgian. See A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, vol. 48 of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris & Copenhagen, 1936, p. 424; Peeters, *op. cit.*, p. 306. The *Kitab-al-Fihrist* is edited by G. Flügel, J. Rödiger and A. Müller — 2 volumes, Leipzig, 1871-2. The oldest Arabic version of Barlaam and Ioasaph is published by F. Hommel, *Die älteste Arabische Barlaamversion*, in *Verhandlungen des 7 internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*, Semit. Section, Vienna, 1887, pp. 115-65, and is translated into English by E. Rehatsek, *Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, XXII, pp. 119-155.

²⁴ Peeters, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²⁵ Naples ms. 501r 2-501v 1.

²⁶ In a forthcoming study I expect to discuss at length the technique of this translator.

verbiage, he also inserted his own interpolation telling the reader clearly once more where he had got his material:

Hunc autem libellum ex indico / sermone in argolico transtu- / lit primum quidam eufimius mona- / chus abasgo genere stilo. quem se / cutus quidam in anno Milesimo quadra- / gesimo octavo. ab incarnatione / domini nostri ihesu christi. et sanctissimi impera- / toris nostri constantini monoma- / chi sexto anno. indictione quintade- / cima, et translatoris etate sexa / gesimo et incolatus sui tricesimo / primo. Qui per instigationem ^{r./v.} cuiusdam nobilis viri leonis filii / iohannis et amore dei et sanctorum horum simili / conatu aggressus compendioso sermo- / ne ex argolico stilo ad latinita- / tis leporem studiosius transtulit / et ubi expedit immutavit atque ad- / iecit more nostrorum. Quam obrem lec / tores et inspectores ammoneo ut pro / nobis ad deum veniam delictorum po- / stuletis dicentes versus: "Crimina qui / miseris laxas te cuncta precamur. / Parcere misellis cuncta piacula deus" / Et ne a laceratoribus bonitatis in / famemur ideo opere pretium duxi ut / et translationem reliquiarum sanctorum istorum / translationi nostre prosico combinarem ser- / mone ut liquidius omnes agnoscant / qualiter omnipotens deus suos de una ad ali / am corruscando miraculis atque / signis transmutando glorificat. Ut / adimpleatur quod scriptum est. "Si ha- / bueritis fidem ut granum sinapis di- / cetis monti huic transferte et trans- / feretur." Et alibi "Signa que ego / facio et vos facietis et maiora / horum facietis." Sicut in translatione / reliquiarum subsequens sermo / narrationis nostre liquidius omnibus / gestum fuisse declarabit.

This passage confirms so strongly as to leave little possibility of doubt, the above-quoted statement in the manuscript title, that Euthymius was the author of the Greek version. The date 1048, is not here as in the prologue obliquely arrived at through the year of the emperor, but stated by the author in so many words to be the date of his translation from Greek to Latin. He gives his own age as sixty, and says that he has been resident in Constantinople for thirty-one years. Leo's father's name is given as John. An elegiac couplet — the only one in the whole translation, is inserted. But beyond all these things, which are at best only of incidental interest, are the three words — abasgo genere stilo — "from the language of the abasgian race." This language is of course Georgian.

Abasgians — Ἀβασγοί, properly speaking, is the Greek name for a Caucasian tribe living along the east and northeast shores of the Black Sea,²⁷ more usually known as Abkhasians, and to

²⁷ W. E. D. Allen, *History of the Georgian People*, London, Kegan Paul, 1932. Passim, especially map to illustrate historical geography of Georgia from the tenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D.

the earliest geographers as Apsilai. The name may have to do with a Caucasian root meaning *water*.²⁸

At any rate, they appear in Procopius, as a tree-worshipping tribe which until recently supplied the Byzantine court with eunuchs, but which Justinian had succeeded in converting to Christianity and to enlightenment;²⁹ and are mentioned by later Byzantine historians including Theophanes,³⁰ Theophanes Continuatus,³¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus,³² and Nicephorus Gregoras.³³

After Justinian they were under strong Greek influence, and in the late eighth century "the remote position of the Abkhaz had enabled them to escape both the domination of the Arabs and the ravages of the Khazars; their dense forests protected them from the dangers of effective Byzantine control over the interior of the country, while their proximity to the sea enabled them to receive through their coastal towns the benefits of trade and cultural contact with Byzantium and Kherson."³⁴ In the year 1008 Bagrat III, whose mother was of the royal house of the Abkhasians, and whose father was curopalates of Kartli, succeeded to the throne of both of these; and his dynasty, thenceforward until the coming of the Turks the most important in the Caucasus, was known as the Abkhasian.³⁵ During the entire eleventh century the Abkhasian rulers of Georgia had constant relations with Byzantium — at times hostile, as when Basil II attacked the Abkhaz in 1021, at times friendly, as when finally in 1065 Michael son of Constantine X Dukas married Martha daughter of the Abkhasian king Bagrat IV, who ruled 1014–72.³⁶

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–9.

²⁹ Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* IV, 4, ed. Haury, II, pp. 498–500, Leipzig, Teubner, 1905; see also K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder und Völkerkunde*, vol. V of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde* ed. R. Stübe, Leipzig, 1912, I, p. 52.

³⁰ Ed. De Boor, Leipzig, Teubner, 1885, II, pp. 309–10, 391 ff.

³¹ Ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, p. 203.

³² *De Administrando Imperio*, Chapter 46, cited by Dieterich, *op. cit.*, I, p. 50.

³³ II, Chapters 4 and 5 — cited by Dieterich, *op. cit.*, II, p. 27.

³⁴ Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84 ff.

³⁶ See M. Brosset, *Histoire de La Géorgie*, St. Petersburg, 1849, I, p. 330; and *Additions et Eclaircissements*, 1851, Addition XII, *Rapports entre la Géorgie et la Grèce sous Bagrat IV*, pp. 218–226.

Enough has now been said to demonstrate that the fortunes of Georgia during the eleventh century were in Abkhasian hands. It is not strange then to find in 1048 our translator from Greek to Latin referring to the language from which his Greek original had been translated by Euthymius as Abasgian. Indeed we have a perfectly parallel instance supplied in an article by Marr on John Petritsi (Petritski, or Petritsoneli), a Georgian philosopher of the eleventh to twelfth centuries.³⁷ John Petritsi was a Neo-Platonist, and, as Marr says (I translate) he and "Michael Psellos and John Italos were not only active in the same period but plowers of the same field."³⁸

Italus met a certain Georgian philosopher, who, Marr thinks, was possibly Petritsi, and addressed him in a letter (found in a manuscript at Vienna) as a learned *Abasgos*. Marr writes: (*Italics mine*) "He met a certain *Abkhazian* — that is to say a *Georgian*, — for at this time the Abkhazians had long been associated with Georgian national culture, — Abkhazia was then one of the central boiling points of Georgian activity in ecclesiastical literature," and adds in a note "The Abkhazians, long joined by the closest ties to Byzantium, and under her immediate cultural influence, were, in their turn, one must suppose, leaders of Byzantine education in Georgian centers."³⁹

The point need not be further labored. It is clear that the term *abasgos* was used in Greek to mean Georgian, and that our translator, long resident at Byzantium, so used it.

Thus we have from an author writing only twenty years after Euthymius' death a simple statement of the facts: Euthymius, a monk, translated the Georgian version of Barlaam and Ioasaph into Greek. This then strikingly confirms Peeters' philological arguments for a Georgian original, and disposes of both other hypotheses as to the author of the Greek *Barlaam*, a text which fathered many widespread and influential romances of the Middle Ages.

³⁷ N. Marr, Ioann Petriski, Gruzinski Neoplatonik XI-XII veka, Zapiski, XIX, 1909, pp. 53-113.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 100. Italus' story is found in Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, tr. Dawes, London, Kegan Paul, 1928, pp. 132-7.

³⁹ Marr, *op. cit.*, p. 108, and note 1.



A COPTIC FRAGMENT OF MELITO'S HOMILY ON THE PASSION

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IN *Coptica*, III (Copenhagen, 1922), W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell published the Coptic and Greek texts found at Wadi Sarga, a site some fifteen miles south of Asyut, in the excavations carried on during the winter of 1913-1914. A chance reading of some of the texts enabled me recently to identify one of them as a part of the Homily on the Passion by Melito of Sardis.

The text is No. 17 of the series (pp. 47-49), and was published as "presumably homiletic." It is described as "a tattered leaf of fine, thin parchment, 12 x 10.5 (?) cm. when complete, written in one column of 18 lines, in a beautiful, somewhat sloping hand, with features recalling the '2nd scribe' of the Pistis, Brit. Mus. 509, the Achmimic Jude, and especially certain Greek hands of the 3rd-4th century." Plate I (opposite p. 8) shows the verso of the leaf.

This leaf belongs to that part of Melito's homily in which, leading up to his treatment of the Passover as the type of the sacrifice of Christ, he describes the institution of the rite, paraphrasing the language of Exodus xii.¹ The Coptic text corresponds to a part of one of the leaves belonging to the University of Michigan; it begins with p. 2, 29 and ends at p. 3, 11. Since that leaf, like almost all that belong to the Beatty-Michigan papyrus, has lost some of the writing by injury at the bottom, the Coptic fragment will make it easier to reconstruct the lost lines of the Greek text, and may remove some difficulties elsewhere. The original from which the Coptic translator worked differed from the Michigan text in several places; these variants will be recorded in the forthcoming edition of the homily.

The Coptic leaf has on the verso the number 94, which shows that the homily was only a part of a large book, which may have contained miscellaneous religious works. Similarly, the Beatty-Michigan Melito followed the last chapters of Enoch, and it is probable that at least one other text formed part of the same manuscript.

The Wadi Sarga leaf is the only Coptic fragment of Melito identified up to this time, and is of great interest as showing that his work was not only read by the Greek Christians, but was also translated

¹ See Mélanges Franz Cumont (*Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Or.*, IV), p. 110; *Actes du V^me Congrès International de Papyrologie*, p. 97.

for their Egyptian brethren. Fragments of a Syriac version have long been known.

Since various libraries and museums possess fragmentary ecclesiastical texts in Coptic, many of which have not been identified, it may be hoped that still other parts of the Homily on the Passion, perhaps even other works of Melito, will yet be discovered.